

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00
CCO-00 NSCE-00 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-10 CIAE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NASA-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02
SP-02 PA-01 DOE-15 CEQ-01 OES-07 SS-15 USIA-06
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R 311050Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9820
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY DACCA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION USNATO
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 06302

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: IN, UR, PBOR, CH, MASS
SUBJECT: SOVIET VIEWS OF INDO-SOVIET AND SINO-SOVIET
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RELATIONS

REF: (A) MOSCOW 5333, (B) NEW DELHI 4297

SUMMARY: DEPUTY CHIEF, SOVIET MFA SOUTH ASIAN DEPT.,
STATES INDIA HAS NOT EXPRESSED INTEREST IN PURCHASING A
NEW SOVIET MILITARY AIRCRAFT SINCE 1973; REITERATES SOVIET

INTENTION TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH DELHI REGARD-
LESS OF THE PARTY IN POWER; HOLDS THAT SINO-INDIAN
RELATIONS WILL IMPROVE SINCE BOTH SIDES ARE NOW INTERESTED
IN THIS; BUT CLAIMS THAT CHINESE DESIRE FOR "HEGEMONY"
IN ASIA AND INDIA'S 1962 EXPERIENCE WILL LIMIT THIS
IMPROVEMENT. THE SOVIETS ALSO KNOW THAT STRONG SOVIET
SENSITIVITIES WILL BE AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IN
INDIAN DECISIONS ON SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS. DESPITE
THESE FACTORS, MOSCOW IS OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT
PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS AND
WILL BE CLOSELY MONITORING DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS AREA.
END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF CALLED ON DEPUTY CHIEF, MFA'S SOUTH ASIA
DEPT., B. Y. KIRNASOVSKIY MARCH 23. KIRNASOVSKIY
PREVIOUSLY SERVED AS SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO NEPAL AND TO
LAOS.
2. SOUTH ASIA- GENERAL: KIRNASOVSKIY WELCOMED THE
RECENT INDO-NEPALI TRADE AND TRANSIT AGREEMENT AND THE
EXCHANGES OF VISITS AMONG LEADERS OF SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES
OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS. HE REITERATED THE SOVIET LINE
THAT MOSCOW SUPPORTS THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION OF
RELATIONS AND THE EASING OF TENSIONS IN THE SUB-CONTINENT,
AND HE STATED THAT INDIAN DIPLOMACY TOWARD ITS NEIGHBORS
IS THE CHIEF SOURCE OF THIS FAVORABLE TREND.

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3. INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS: KIRNASOVSKIY SAID THAT THE
VISIT BY SOVIET AIR FORCE COMMANDER KUTJ
IS PROTOCOLARY AND A PART OF THE REGULAR EXCHANGE OF
VISITS BY SENIOR SOVIET AND INDIAN MILITARY OFFICERS.
HE STATED THAT HE HAD SEEN NO INDICATION THAT KUTAKHOV
WILL BE DISCUSSING POSSIBLE INDIAN PURCHASE OF A DEEP
PENETRATION AIRCRAFT FROM THE SOVIET UNION. SPEAKING
IN GENERAL TERMS, HE SAID THAT IN 1973 THE INDIANS
EXPRESSED SOME INTEREST IN PURCHASING THE TECHNOLOGY
AND MATERIALS FOR INDIGENOUSLY PRODUCING A NEW SOVIET
AIRCRAFT, WHICH HE THOUGHT MAY HAVE BEEN THE MIG-21
OR MIG-23. HOWEVER, THE INDIANS HAD NOT APPROACHED
THE SOVIET UNION SINCE 1973 TO RENEW DISCUSSIONS.

4. KIRNASOVSKIY DESCRIBED INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS AS
EXCELLENT. HE TOUCHED ON MRS. GANDHI'S STATE ELECTION
VICTORIES, STATING THAT THEY SHOWED THAT SHE AND NOT
THE CONGRESS PARTY IS POPULAR WITH THE INDIAN VOTER.
HE SAID THAT THE TENACITY OF INDIA'S ENORMOUS PROBLEMS
WILL MAKE IT HARD FOR ANY PARTY TO WIN CONSISTENTLY AT
THE POLLS, ADDING THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL MAINTAIN
GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEW DELHI REGARDLESS OF THE PARTY IN

POWER. KIRNASOVSKIY SAID THAT THERE ARE NO PRESENT PLANS FOR BREZHNEV TO VISIT INDIA, ALTHOUGH BREZHNEV ACCEPTED DESAI'S INVITATION DURING LATTER'S 1977 VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION.

5. NOTE: FRG AMBASSADOR HERE TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT HIS EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED A MESSAGE FROM DELHI ON SOVIET DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER FIRYUBIN'S VISIT TO DELHI. REPORT STATES THAT ON MARCH 17 FIRYUBIN SAW INDIAN FOREIGN SECRETARY MEHTA AND DISCUSSED POSSIBLE VISITS BY SOVIET LEADERS. REPORT SAID THAT BREZHNEV WOULD VISIT INDIA BUT THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY THIS YEAR. KOSYGIN, HOWEVER, MAY VISIT INDIA SOON. ALSO DISCUSSED WERE THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS:
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-- THE INDIANS RAISED THE QUESTION OF A DEEP PENETRATION STRIKE AIRCRAFT;

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 06302

-- THE CURRENT STATE OF INDIAN-CHINESE AND SOVIET-
CHINESE RELATIONS;

-- THE RUPEE-RUBLE RATIO.

FRG EMBASSY REPORT ALSO STATED THAT A PROBABLE PURPOSE
OF KUTAKHOV VISIT IS TO DISCUSS WITH INDIANS POSSIBLE
INDIAN PURCHASE OF A DEEP PENETRATION STRIKE AIRCRAFT.
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(THIS SEEMS TO CLASH WITH KIRNASOVSKIY'S STATEMENTS
ON THIS TOPIC.) WE WOULD WELCOME ANY INFORMATION EMBASSY
DELHI CAN PROVIDE ON KUTAKHOV AND REPORTED FIRYUBIN
VISITS TO DELHI. WE HAVE ALSO HEARD AN UNCONFIRMED
REPORT THAT FIRYUBIN STOPPED IN DACCA AS WELL. END NOTE

6. SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS. IRNASOVSKIY SAID THAT SINO-
INDIAN RELATIONS ARE BOUND TO IMPROVE SINCE BOTH DELHI
AND PEKING ARE NOW INTERESTED IN BETTERING RELATIONS.
HE NOTED THAT THERE IS A LARGE AREA, INCLUDING THE
ECONOMIC AREA, WHERE TIES CAN BE STRENGTHENED. AT
THE SAME TIME, KIRNASOVSKIY STRESSED, THE INDIANS WILL
MOVE WITH GREAT CAUTION, GIVEN THEIR 1962 EXPERIENCE AND
CONTINUING CHINESE ASSISTANCE TO NAGAS, MIZOS AND "OTHER
ANTI-GOI GROUPS" IN INDIA. HE SAID THE GOI IS AWARE
THAT ETHNIC CHINESE LIVING IN INDIA DISTRIBUTE PROPA-
GANDA MEANT TO INCITE INDIAN MINORITIES AGAINST THE
"HINDUS." KIRNASOVSKIY SAID THAT DESAI ANNOUNCED THAT
INDIA'S INTENTION IS TO PEACEFULLY "LIBERATE"
CHINESE-OCCUPIED PARTS OF INDIA AND NOT "TO REMOVE"
CHINESE OCCUPYING TROOPS "BY FORCE." HE INTERPRETED
THIS AS A DEPARTURE FROM THE FORMER INDIAN LINE.
DESAI'S OBJECTIVE, HE SAID, IS TO PUT THE PRC IN THE
POSITION OF HAVING TO MAKE THE NEXT INITIATIVE ON THE
BORDER. HE CLAIMED THAT, WHETHER OR NOT A CHINESE
RESPONSE IS FORTHCOMING, THE OVER-ALL CHINESE INTENT
TO ESTABLISH "HEGEMONY" IN ASIA WILL LIMIT IMPROVE-
MENT IN SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS. RESPONDING TO A
QUESTION, KIRNASOVSKIY STATED MOSCOW DOES NOT FORMALLY
RECOGNIZE EITHER INDIAN OR CHINESE CLAIMS TO AKSAI CHIN

AND ARUNACHAL PRADESH, SINCE IT IS UP TO THE INDIANS
AND THE CHINESE TO DECIDE THEIR OWN BORDER PROBLEMS.

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7. COMMENT. KIRNASOVSKIY WAS CLEARLY ATTEMPTING TO STRIKE A POSTURE OF CONFIDENCE IN DESCRIBING SOVIET VIEWS ON PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, STRONG SOVIET SENSITIVITIES ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS ARE INDICATED BY (A) HIS EFFORT TO EMPHASIZE THE CHINESE-CREATED OBSTACLES NECESSITATING INDIAN CAUTION, (B) FIRYUBIN'S TRIP TO DELHI IN THE WAKE OF WANG PING NAN'S DEPARTURE, AND (C) INDICATIONS REPORTED MOSCOW 6105 THAT THE SOVIETS, PERHAPS WITH A VIEW TO RECENT SINO-INDIAN DEVELOPMENTS, ARE TAKING SOME MINOR STEPS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH ISLAMABAD. KIRNASOVSKIY NOT SURPRISINGLY AVOIDED DISCUSSING SOVIET SENSITIVITIES AS A SEPARATE OBSTACLE TO IMPROVING SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS. HOWEVER, AS STATED IN EMBASSY DELHI'S EXCELLENT ANALYSIS OF SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS (REF B), THIS FACTOR WILL REMAIN AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION. (INDIAN MINISTER HERE TOLD POL COUNSELOR THAT GOI HAS ASSURED SOVIETS PRIVATELY AS WELL AS PUBLICLY OF GOI POLICY NOT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES AT THE EXPENSE OF ESTABLISHED FRIENDSHIPS.) NEVERTHELESS, WE BELIEVE THE SOVIETS ARE UNEASY ABOUT THE EXTENT DELHI IS WILLING TO GO IN BETTERING RELATIONS WITH PEKING AND WILL BE MONITORING DEVELOPMENTS IN SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS VERY CLOSELY. TOON

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Message Attributes

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